

Message Text

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S E C R E T STATE 029922 TOSEC 030004

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SONNENFELDT

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)PARM, UR, US

SUBJECT: RUMSFELD STATEMENT ON SALT COMPLIANCE

1. I HAD A LONG AND NOT VERY SATISFACTORY SESSION WITH JIM WADE TO GO OVER THE CHANGES TO THE RUMSFELD STATEMENT. WADE AGREED TENTATIVELY WITH A NUMBER OF CHANGES AND SAID THAT HE WILL DISCUSS THEM WITH RUMSFELD TOMORROW. I INTERPRET THIS TO MEAN THAT THEY MAY BACK AWAY FROM THOSE CHANGES TENTATIVELY AGREED. WADE IS TO CALL ME WITH THE RUMSFELD REACTION TOMORROW.

2. THERE FOLLOWS A LIST OF THE CHANGES WHICH WADE TOOK TO RUMSFELD. THEY ARE LISTED BY PAGE AND PARAGRAPH SO THAT YOUR STAFF CAN PEN THEM IN ON YOUR COPY OF THE BASIC DOCUMENT.

--PAGE 1, PARA 1, FINAL SENTENCE: DELETE "OR, AT THE VERY SECRET

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LEAST, THEIR INTENT AND OBJECTIVES." ADD AT END OF FINAL

SENTENCE "BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT."

--PAGE 1, PARA 2, ADD AT END OF FINAL SENTENCE: "AND IN THE GOVERNMENT'S CONDUCT WITH RESPECT TO THESE ISSUES."

--PAGE 2, PARA 2, LINE 6: WADE DECLINED TO INSERT "INITIAL" AS SUGGESTED BY SCOWCROFT. WADE'S RATIONALE WAS THAT DISSEMINATION OF COMPLIANCE-RELATED INTELLIGENCE IS CONTINUALLY RESTRICTED TO A SMALL NUMBER OF POLICY-MAKING OFFICIALS.

--PAGE 2, PARA 3, FIRST SENTENCE: DELETE "IS COMPLETED AND IT APPEARS"; SUBSTITUTE: "INDICATES."

--PAGE 2, PARAS 3 AND 4: WADE DECLINED TO ADD A SENTENCE STATING THAT ALL MEMBERS OF THE VERIFICATION PANEL HAVE ACCESS TO COMPLIANCE-RELATED INTELLIGENCE, STATING THAT IS CLEAR FROM THE DESCRIPTION IN THESE PARAGRAPHS OF THE ROLE OF THE VERIFICATION PANEL AND ITS WORKING GROUP.

--PAGE 3, PARA 3, LAST SENTENCE: DELETE "SPECULATION"; SUBSTITUTE "PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENTS."

--PAGE 3, PARA 5, LINE FOUR: INSERT "OPERATIONAL OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION" AFTER "SILOS."

--PAGE 3, PARA 6, LINE THREE: DELETE "CONVERSION"; SUBSTITUTE "CONVERTIBILITY".

--PAGE 3, PARA 7, FIRST SENTENCE: DELETE "FUTURE CAPABILITIES"; INSERT "AND CAPABILITIES" AFTER "EVENTUAL NUMBER."

--PAGE 3, PARA 8, LINE THREE: DELETE "THEREFORE, SINCE THE."

--PAGE 4, FIRST LINE: PLACE PERIOD AFTER "CONVERSION"; INSERT FOLLOWING SENTENCE: "THE US WILL KEEP THESE LAUNCH CONTROL SILOS UNDER THE CLOSEST SCRUTINY AND THE ISSUE ALSO. . ." (PICK UP REMAINDER OF LINE 2).

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--PAGE 4, PARA 3, LINE TWO: DELETE: "THEY WERE INITIATED IN."

--PAGE 6, PARA 6: WADE DECLINED TO ACCEPT SCOWCROFT'S REVISION ON THE GROUNDS THAT THE TESTING DID NOT STOP IN THE 1973-74 PERIOD.

--PAGE 11, PARA 3, LINE THREE: INSERT "WITH A MINIMUM

OF DELAY" AFTER "ANALYZED"; LINE FOUR: INSERT "PROMPTLY"
AFTER "BROUGHT."

--PAGE 11, PARA 5: WADE ACCEPTED SCOWCROFT'S REVISION.

--PAGE 11, LAST PARA: WADE TENTATIVELY AGREED TO DELETE
THIS PARA WHICH STATES THAT THE RESTRICTED DISSEMINATION
PROCESS MAY HAVE BEEN "SELF DEFEATING."

--PAGE 12, PARA ONE, LINES 3 AND 4: DELETE "WHICH AFFECT
THE SECURITY OF THE US."

--PAGE 12, PARA TWO, LINE 4: INSERT "AND NONE HAS BEEN"
AFTER "AGREEMENTS."

--PAGE 13, PARA 2, LINES 6 AND 7: DELETE "IN THIS SENSE";
DELETE "INITIALLY AT LEAST, MAY WELL HAVE BEEN";
SUBSTITUTE "IS." LINE 8: DELETE "WHICH MAY OR MAY NOT
HAVE BEEN CLEARCUT VIOLATIONS.,"; SUBSTITUTE: "THAT HAVE
CONCERNED US." LINE 9: DELETE "SUCH USAGE., SUBSTITUTE:
"CONTINUED USAGE OF THIS TERM."

3. COMMENT: YOU WILL HAVE NOTED THAT WADE REFUSED TO
ACCEPT CHANGES WHICH WOULD HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THE
BEST INTELLIGENCE ESTIMATE IS THAT IT WOULD TAKE SIX TO
NINE MONTHS TO CONVERT THE LAUNCH CONTROL FACILITIES
INTO ICBM SILOS. WADE ARGUES (AS DOES DIA) THAT IF THE
LAUNCH CONTROL FACILITIES WERE DESIGNED TO BE DUAL
CAPABLE, THEY COULD BE CONVERTED TO ICBM SILOS WITHIN A
MATTER OF DAYS OR AS LITTLE AS TWO WEEKS. WADE ALSO
ARGUES THAT EVEN IF THE SIX MONTHS ESTIMATE IS CORRECT,
WE LOOK FOOLISH BECAUSE THEY COULD CONVERT THESE SILOS
IN ONLY 25 PERCENT OF THE TIME REQUIRED TO CONSTRUCT NEW
SILOS FROM SCRATCH (ABOUT TWO YEARS). WADE ALSO REFUSED
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ANY CHANGES WHICH WOULD HAVE POINTED OUT THAT THE SA-5 IS
NOT AN OPTIMAL SYSTEM TO UPGRADE FOR AN ABM CAPABILITY.
WADE WON'T ACCEPT THIS ON THE GROUNDS THAT WE HAVE ARGUED
THAT VIOLATIONS ARE NOTDEPENDENT ON WHETHER THEY ARE
STRATEGICALLY SIGNIFICANT.

4. WADE SEEMS TO HAVE MORALLY CONVINCED HIMSELF THAT
VIOLATIONS PROBABLY DO EXIST IN THE CASES OF THE SA-5,
THE LAUNCH CONTROL FACILITIES AND THE SS-19 DEPLOYMENTS.
ON SOME OF THESE POINTS HE IS ADAMANT TO THE POINT OF
EMOTIONALISM. I HAVE, FRANKLY, LITTLE HOPE THAT EVEN THE
CHANGES WE HAVE MADE WILL SURVIVE HIS DISCUSSION WITH
RUMSFELD. THE PROBLEM IS THAT THE OPTION OF DROPPING
THIS EXERCISE ALTOGETHER IS PROBABLY NOT FEASIBLE SINCE
SOMEONE WILL LEAK THE EARLIER VERSIONS OF THIS PAPER AND

WE WILL STAND ACCUSED OF HAVING TRIED TO SURPRESS IT OR
TURN IT INTO A WHITEWASH. MY JUDGMENT IS THAT EVEN WITH
THE FLAWS, THE DEFENSIVE TONE THAT STILL REMAINS AND THE
PRESUMPTION THAT VIOLATIONS HAVE IN FACT OCCURRED, IT MAY
STILL BE BETTER TO HAVE RUMSFELD ON THE RECORD WITH AT
LEAST AS MUCH AS THIS PAPER DOES CONTAIN. IN ANY EVENT,
WE WILL HAVE TO WAIT AND SEE WHAT WADE BRINGS BACK FROM
RUMSFELD. SISCO

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